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SUBJECT: RAYMOND ARON ARTICLE IN TODAY'S FIGARO

FOLLOWING ARE RESUME AND EXCERPTS OF RAYMOND ARON'S ARTICLE IN JULY 8 ISSUE OF THE PARIS DAILY LE FIGARO. THE ARTICLE HEADLINED "THE AMBIGUITY OF DETENTE" IS FIRST OF A SERIES OF UNDETERMINED NUMBER. RAYMOND ARON STARTS BY NOTING THAT "EVERY NOW AND THEN, THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE EXPLAIN THAT DETENTE IS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THERMONUCLEAR WAR. THEY ARE BOTH TOO INTELLIGENT TO TAKE THEIR WORDS SERIOUSLY. THE DESIRE OF MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON LEADERS TO PREVENT A GLOBAL CONFLICT IS MUCH OLDER THAN THE ENTRY INTO OFFICE OF PRESIDENT NIXON, OR EVEN OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY. THIS COMMON WILL ALREADY EXISTED AND WAS DEMONSTRATED PERHAPS MORE SPECTACULARLY AT THE TIME OF THE BERLIN BLOCKADE, OR OF THE SUEZ CRISIS WHICH OCCURRED AT THE TIME OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION. IN 1948-49, PRESIDENT TRUMAN REFUSED TO BREAK THE BERLIN BLOCKADE BY SENDING AN ARMED CONVOY... IN 1956, NEITHER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER NOR FOSTER DULLES HAD ANY DESIRE TO INTERVENE IN EASTERN EUROPE. (AT THAT TIME LONG PAST HENRY KISSINGER CRITICIZED THEIR

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PAGE 02 PARIS 16626 091329Z

PASSIVITY) . . . DURING THE NIXONIAN PHASE OF DETENTE,

SOVIET UNION, ACCORDING TO FIGURES MENTIONED IN OFFICIAL U.S. DOCUMENTS, HAS CONTINUED OR EVEN INCREASED ITS ARMAMENT PROGRAM, BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL. THE INTERDICTION OF TESTING IN THE ATMOSPHERE...HAS NOT IMPEDED QUALITATIVE PROGRESS IN THE U.S. ARSENAL OR THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE PROGRESS OF SOVIET ARMAMENTS... THUS WHAT HAS BEEN THE PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO DETENTE OF MESSRS NIXON AND KISSINGER? ESSENTIALLY, THE SOLEMN AGREEMENT -- WHICH RESULTED FROM THE COMMON WILL TO PREVENT A NUCLEAR WAR -- ON PRINCIPLES OF GOOD BEHAVIOR IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES...AND THE MANY AGREEMENTS ON COOPERATION IN THE SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC FIELDS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE USSR. THE PRINCIPLES OF GOOD BEHAVIOR FORMULATED IN MOSCOW IN 1972, DID NOT HAVE ANY VISIBLE INFLUENCE ON THE LAST OF THE SPECTACULAR CRISES WHICH MARK PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE... IN THE END, THIS CRISIS WHICH OPENED WITH THE KIPPUR WAR ENDED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE U.S. AMERICAN-SOVIET COOPERATION DID NOT CONTRIBUTE VISIBLY TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFLICT. AT MOST, WE CAN SAY THAT IF THEY HAD WANTED TO DO SO, THE SOVIET LEADERS COULD HAVE IMPEDED THE ACTION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE. TECHNICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS... ARE, BY THEMSELVES, A FIRST CLASS EVENT... SENATE INTERVENTION, AND IN PARTICULAR THAT OF SENATOR JACKSON, PLACES AN OBSTACLE ON THE ROAD TO AN ECONOMIC RAPPROCHEMENT. U.S. SENATE REFUSAL TO GRANT THE USSR MFN HAS MAINLY SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE. AMERICAN FIRMS WILL DEAL WITH SOVIET STATE ORGANIZATIONS, SELL PLANTS OR TECHNOLOGY AND BUY RAW MATERIALS. WHAT IMPRESSION CAN WE DRAW FROM THIS SITUATION? IN THE DIRECT RELATIONS BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON, THERE IS MORE CHANGE THAN CONTINUITY. SUMMIT MEETINGS BELONG TO THE NORMAL TREND OF DIPLOMACY. TRADE EXCHANGES ARE INCREASING BUT THE U.S. IS ONLY FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE OF ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES. AS FOR THE TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS - NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND CONFLICTS OCCURRING IN THE REGIONS OUTSIDE THE ZONE COVERED BY THE WARSAW PACT AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE - NOTHING INDICATES THAT THE DECLARATIONS OF INTENT OF 1972 AND 1973 HAVE HISTORIC MEANING. EACH OF THE WESTERN STATES -- FRANCE, GERMANY, UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 PARIS 16626 091329Z

THE S.S. -- CONDUCTS ITS OWN POLICY OF 'DETENTE' VIS-A-VIS THE USSR. EACH OF THEM CAREFULLY WATCHES WITH A CERTAIN UNEASINESS THE POLICY OF ITS ATLANTIC PARTNERS. AS FOR THE SOVIET UNION, FORMALLY HOSTILE TO 'BLOCS' IT MAINTAINS A STRICT IDEOLOGICAL DISCIPLINE INSIDE ITS OWN BLOC. NO ONE IS AGAINST DETENTE, BUT NO ONE CAN DEFINE IT WITH PRECISION.
IRWIN

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